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Stand by the Republican Colors!

S P E E C H

O F

HON. HENRY WILSON, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

A T G R E A T F A L L S , N E W H A M P S H I R E , F E B R U A R Y 2 4 , 1 8 7 2 .

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

During the year on which we have entered the people of the United States will be summoned to elect a Chief Magistrate. There are seven million persons in the country entitled to the right of suffrage. They are now ranged into two great political parties. One calls itself the Democratic party; the other takes the name of the Republican party. Each of those political organizations has a history, a platform of principles, and a programme of policy. To one or the other of these parties the people of the United States will commit, for four years, the precious interests of the Republic. It devolves upon the citizens of New Hampshire to give the first vote of the campaign upon which we are entering. Whatever may be the result, it will be deemed and taken throughout the country as an indication of public sentiment, and the victory, to whichever party it may come, will give to that party in the nation more numbers than it has voters in the State of New Hampshire.

I come here to-night in behalf of the Republican party of the United States, three and a half million strong, to speak to the Republicans of New Hampshire; to ask them to call the battle-roll anew, and to redeem their State, and place her where she has so long been, and where she ought to be again, at the head of the Republican column. I am not here to belittle the Democratic party. I know it has power, I know it has elements of strength, I know it will fight a great battle this year for the control of the Government. I pity the weakness or despise the folly that underrates the power of the Democratic party. It has vast elements of strength; it has wealth, prejudice, passion, and pride of race. I know it has able men in its ranks, and I have no sympathy with that disposition which prompts us always to belittle whatever we oppose.

I do not come here to apologize for the Republican party. I would as soon apologize for the spots on the sun that has bathed the world to-day in light and beauty. The Republican party needs no apology and no defense. There is no body of men in America to-day who from their past history or present position

have a right to arraign it before the nation, before the nations, or before God.

There was a struggle, beginning in 1832, and continuing until the spring of 1861—the period of one generation—between these antagonistic forces; but it was a struggle of thought, of voice, of the press, a struggle of votes. Liberty at last triumphed. Then the slave-masters raised the banners of rebellion, hurled their section into a wicked and brutal, barbarous and bloody civil war. These are historic facts. They will go into the history of our country; and when we who are here to-night, when the men of this generation shall all have passed away, in other days, with clearer lights than those of the present, the human family will recognize these facts, and historians will record them for the study and admiration or condemnation of after generations.

We have had a serious contest, a bloody struggle, in which some of the bravest and noblest have gone down and sleep in soldiers' graves. In this struggle; where stood these two great parties that divide the nation to-day? Where stood the Democratic party? Where stood the Republican party? Here to-night I assert it, and there is not a man on God's earth can contradict it, for the record is against him, that from the year 1832, when William Lloyd Garrison and eleven other faithful and fearless men signed their names to the declaration that black men had a right to liberty, and that they would do what they could, sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion, to emancipate the bondman, and to lift up the poor and lowly in the land, from that day to this hour, every moment of the time, and on every distinct issue, the Democratic party has been on the side of privilege, the side of caste, the side of a brutal, ignorant, degraded barbarism. Measured by the standards of the philosophers and statesmen of the ages, measured by the law of the living God, there has not been a moment when it was not clearly, plainly, distinctly, unqualifiedly wrong. It has been wrong, and it is wrong now, and I fear it will continue to be wrong.

The Republican party, made up as it has been of men who came out of other organizations because they were convinced that the

party of freedom and humanity was the party of the country, has at all times, in every struggle, in peace and in war, been on the side of the country, the side of liberty, the side of justice, the side of humanity, the side of a progressive Christian civilization. There has not been a moment during these forty years, whether Garrison Anti-Slavery men, Liberty-Party men, Free-Soilers, or Republicans, starting from only a dozen men and growing up to the three and a half millions who will vote in November next—I say that there has not been a moment in all those years when the champions of human rights have not occupied a position that the Christian men and women who belong to it or sympathize with it could not take it into their closets, and, on their beaded knees, invoke the blessing of God upon it. I do not know that there are not some men so forgetful of the position of the Democratic party that they might ask the blessing upon it of that Being who bids us remember those in bonds. But I cannot imagine how a man who has spoken for, apologized for, voted for, or fought for slavery, privilege, and caste, the side the Democratic party has taken—I do not see how such a man would dare ask the blessing of God upon the violation of the doctrines of the New Testament, that teach us to love our neighbor.

I have briefly referred to this history to show where the Democratic party has stood and now stands, and where the Republican party has stood and now stands. The Democratic party, unmindful of its record of forty years, is asking the toiling men of New Hampshire to give it their confidence and their support. I should quite as soon think that the Democratic party would go to South Carolina, and ask the men whom we Republicans have made free—the men from whose limbs we have smitten the fetters, the men into whose souls we have breathed the spirit of manhood, the men whom we lifted up and put upon their feet, made them citizens of the United States, secured to them civil and political rights, and made them our equals and our peers—I should quite as soon have supposed the Democratic party would go to South Carolina and ask the votes of those men, whom we converted from things into human beings, with human rights, as that it would ask the votes of the toiling men who stand on the hills of New Hampshire. They will tell us that these men were black men. I have only to say this, that the man who would make a black man a slave would make a white man a slave, if he had the power to do it.

I see before me men whom I recognize as toiling men; men who have to support the wives of their bosoms and the children of their love by manual labor. I call the earnest attention of these men to this terrible struggle through which we have passed, and to what has been achieved for the poor toiling men of this country during the last twelve years. I feel that I have the right to speak for toiling men and to toiling men. I was born here in your county of Strafford. I was born in pov-

erty; want sat by my cradle. I know what it is to ask a mother for bread when she has none to give. I left my home at ten years of age and served an apprenticeship of eleven years, receiving a month's schooling each year, and at the end of eleven years of hard work, a yoke of oxen and six sheep, which brought me eighty-four dollars. Eighty-four dollars for eleven years of hard toil! I never spent the amount of one dollar in money, counting every penny, from the time I was born until I was twenty-one years of age. I know what it is to travel weary miles and ask my fellow-men to give me leave to toil.

I remember that in October, 1833, I walked into your village from my native town, went through your mills, seeking employment. If anybody had offered me nine dollars a month I should have accepted it gladly. I went to Salmon Falls, I went to Dover, I went to Newmarket, and tried to get work, without success, and I returned home footsore and weary, but not discouraged. I put my pack on my back and walked to where I now live, in Massachusetts, and learned a mechanic's trade. I know the hard lot that toiling men have to endure in this world, and every pulsation of my heart, every conviction of my judgment, every aspiration of my soul, puts me on the side of the toiling men of my country—ay, of all countries. I became an anti-slavery man thirty-six years ago, because the poor bondman was the lowest, most degraded, and helpless type of manhood. An anti-slavery man from conviction is by logical necessity not only the inflexible foe of the doctrine that capital should own laborers, but the unyielding friend of the rights of the sons and daughters of toil.

Let us see what the Republican party has done for the laboring men of this country during the last twelve years. It struck the fetters from four and a half million laboring men and women; converted them from things into men and women. In making them free, it struck down that proud, haughty, and domineering aristocracy of the South that held the doctrine—and proclaimed it, too—that "capital should own labor;" that the men who toiled for wages were "the mud-sills of society;" that the slavery of workingmen produced "a class of gentlemen, who were the substitutes for an order of nobility." Those were the doctrines proclaimed in our ears for forty years by the Calhouns, the McDuffies, the Hammonds, the Rhettts, the Ruffins, the Fitzhughs, the Herschell V. Johnsons, and men of that class, who laid down the doctrine boldly everywhere that "slavery was the normal condition of laboring men, black and white." In emancipating these four and a half million black men and women we struck down the power of the owners of workingmen and working-women in this country forever. They made labor dishonorable in eight hundred thousand square miles of the United States, in the sunny South, as they were wont to call it. Laboring men from abroad would not go there to toil; northern laboring men would not go there to live; they would not stand by the side of the

fettered bondmen where labor was dishonored. But by the steady, persistent adherence to principle of the men trained in the faith of opposition to slavery, who now stand in the ranks of the Republican party, all this has been changed, so that to-day the laboring men of New England can stand up in South Carolina by the graves of Calhoun, of McDuffie, of Pickens, of the leaders of the slave power, who proclaimed free society a failure—that free men and women when they emerged from bondage into freedom were classed in four subdivisions, “the hireling, the beggar, the thief, and the prostitute”—and “look up and be proud in the midst of their toil.” We have made labor honorable, even in the rice swamps of the Carolinas and Georgia; we have taken the brand of dishonor from the brow of labor throughout the country; and in doing that grand work we have done more for labor, for the honor and dignity of laboring men, than was ever achieved by all the parties that arose in this country from the time the Pilgrims put their feet upon Plymouth Rock up to the year 1860. [Applause.]

And that grand and immortal achievement is not all. We have opened that eight hundred thousand square miles to free laboring men; they can go there now, they are going there now. The German, the Englishman, the Irishman, the New England Yankee, the man of the middle States, of the Northwest, can go there now, engage in the mechanic arts, cultivate the soil, and, in all the pursuits of life, no longer feel the degradation that rested upon workingmen when labor was extorted only by the lash. Let the man who toils for wages, whether in the mill, on the farm, or in the mechanic shop, realize what has been done during these last dozen years to lift from toil the badge of dishonor, and to open the great South to the free laboring men of the world. Let him remember with grateful heart that he owes it all, under Providence, to the Republican party.

The Republican party was brought especially into being, and won the victory, when it elected Abraham Lincoln to save the magnificent territories of the United States to the free laboring men of our country, their children, and their children's children, “while grass shall grow and water run.” It saved that magnificent territory to freedom. Auction-blocks, bloodhounds, the lash, chains, manacles, cannot go there now. They have sunk down to the place from whence they came—to the bottomless pit, and the lower deep of the bottomless pit.

The Republican party maintains the policy of the small farms against the great plantations. The Democratic party joined with the South on that issue, as it did in everything and on every issue. We passed the homestead bill, and James Buchanan vetoed it, and the Democratic party supported him in that veto. The object of that bill was to save the vast public domain to landless men, that they might have small farms, rather than that a few men might have great plantations. We were defeated; but the first year the Repub-

lian party came into power, in the midst of the struggle for national existence, it passed the homestead bill, and saved the public lands to the free laboring men of this country forever and forever.

Here to-night I point you to these magnificent achievements; I point you to what has been accomplished in these twelve years for the workingmen, the mechanics, the free laborers, the men who toil for wages; and I say again to you that those achievements surpass all that had been achieved in our country from the earliest settlement of the colonies up to the year 1861, when Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States. What claim, then, has the Democratic party to the vote of a workingman in America? None, none whatever. The workingman who supports the Democratic party, with its history of forty years' hostility to the equal rights of millions of toiling men, is not only illogical and inconsistent, but indifferent and careless. I can see how the lawyer, the manufacturer, the banker, even the farmer, who stands on his fee-simple acres, may vote the Democratic ticket, but I cannot see how the emancipated black man of the South can do it, or how the laboring white man who works for wages can do it.

Persistent efforts are making to convince the laboring men of New Hampshire and to make them believe they have a very hard time of it; that they have to pay taxes; are, indeed, almost taxed out of existence. A document is circulated to prejudice the laboring men against the Administration, on account of the high rates of duties. In my judgment, the wise and sound policy is to tax luxuries highly; to put the burden of taxation upon articles that come in competition with our own, and to make a free list as large as possible. We have a great debt to pay. We shall have taxation enough for many years. That burden, the legacy of the slave Democracy, will rest upon the labor of the nation for years to come.

It was my privilege last summer to spend a few weeks in England. I hardly heard anything else there but complaints of our tariff. If I went to a dinner-party, or met Englishmen on ship-board or anywhere, they had much to say about our exorbitant rates of duties. English importers, German importers, French importers, all berate our rates of duties. These identical documents that the Democrats are circulating in New Hampshire are not paid for by the Democratic party, but by men who want to take care of foreign interests rather than our own. [Applause.]

I asked these men abroad what they wanted. “Why,” they said, “we want to sell more goods in your country.” I had no doubt of that. They said, “You are a great agricultural country; you ought to raise agricultural products, and we ought to make the manufactured articles.” “Well,” I said, “I find that you bought thirty-two million dollars’ worth of wheat last year, and only eight millions of it in the United States. I find that you bought millions of dollars of corn, and

only a few thousand dollars of it in the United States." I asked them if they would give up their agriculture if we would give up our manufactures, and they said their agriculture was worth a great deal more than their manufactures. They came right to the point, for they could tell the truth on the subject in England; their friends do not like to tell it here. They said, "The price of labor is too high in the United States. You pay too much for labor. It has a bad effect. It causes a great many of our laboring people to go to the United States to seek better wages; it makes those discontented who remain at home; they demand higher wages, and we have had to pay higher wages in this country this year than ever before." "Well," I said, "that does not hurt my feelings a great deal. I am very glad they get good wages in the United States; I rejoice that the toiling men and women over here are getting better wages."

I saw everywhere I went, especially on the continent, women engaged in the roughest and hardest work. Women have to bear heavy burdens there. I saw women doing all kinds of hard work. You have heard a great deal said by our women's rights people—of whom I count myself one—about the right of women to work. They have that right in the Old World to their hearts' content. [Laughter and applause.]

I am glad that workingmen are complaining. I am glad the workingmen in Europe are getting discontented and want better wages and are getting higher wages and fewer hours. I thank my God that a man in the United States to-day can earn from three to four dollars in ten hours' work, easier than he could forty years ago earn one dollar, toiling from twelve to fifteen hours. The first month I worked after I was twenty-one years of age I went into the woods, drove team, cut mill-logs, wood, rose in the morning before daylight and worked hard until after dark at night, and I received for it the magnificent sum of six dollars. Each of those dollars looked as large to me as the moon looked to-night. [Laughter.]

On the farm on which I served an apprenticeship I have seen the best men who ever put scythe in grass working for from fifty cents to four shillings a day in the longest days of summer. Yesterday I visited that farm. I asked the men who were there what they paid men in haying-time last summer, and they said from two dollars to two and a half a day. This was paid on the same ground where men worked forty years ago for from fifty cents to four shillings, and took their pay in farm products, not money. I have seen some of the brightest women go into the farm-houses and work for from fifty cents to four shillings a week, milking the cows, making butter and cheese, washing, spinning, and weaving—doing all kinds of hard work. I was told yesterday that many young women were earning in the shops a dollar a day, and that those who worked in houses were getting from two dollars and a half a week to three dollars and a half.

In 1832, in the great debate in the Senate on

the tariff, it was said by those who advocated protective duties that they had raised the price of labor in the United States so that it averaged fifty cents a day. How is it now? This winter is the most prosperous winter the United States has seen in its history. Everybody is at work. There is very little suffering anywhere. Why this change? Why this improvement? It is because we have smitten down the slave system, broken down the slave power, lifted up, dignified, and honored labor, and tried to protect and diversify our own industries. To-day the laboring men and women of our country are earning from three to four times as much in a day as they could earn forty years ago, and a day's work is shorter now than it was then. After I had learned a mechanical trade in the place where I now live I worked fourteen and fifteen hours a day, month after month, to earn forty dollars a month. There are hundreds of men there now who in ten hours can earn a hundred dollars more easily than I could earn forty in fifteen hours. I am grateful to God that this is so. I do not care anything about a few men or corporations piling up a great amount of money. The wealth of the Astors, the Stewarts, and the Vanderbilts has no allurements for me. I believe God made this world to grow good men and women, and not to pile up money. That is my belief, and I want to see the men and women who bear the burdens and do the work have a full share of all they earn, and that an honest day's work shall always have a fair days' pay. [Loud applause.]

Why is it that the Democrats of New Hampshire are circulating free-trade documents, pictorials and cartoons over this State? Why should they strive to deceive poor laboring men, when they were never so prosperous as now under the system that tends to diversify our industries, increase our production, add to our own wealth, and take care of our own country? My heart goes out to the workingmen of England and Ireland, of Germany and France, aye and of Asia and Africa, too. A man is a man, no matter where he was born or what blood courses in his veins. I believe that God made him and Christ died for him, and that he is destined to an immortal inheritance. I believe, too, in that comprehensive policy that watches over the poor and lowly and takes care of the interests of all the world; but, after all, I am for the Republic of the United States, one and indivisible, and the people of the United States, before any other country or any other people. [Applause.]

I am for taking care of our own interests, and not allowing the importing houses of Englishmen or Frenchmen or Germans to control the financial or business affairs of the people of the United States, nor to direct the policy of the United States. I think we are old enough and large enough to take care of ourselves. [Applause.]

One would suppose, to hear our Democratic friends talk, that we never had any corruption before; that they had always been pure, because they never punished a thief. [Applause]

and laughter.] I propose right here to lay down this proposition: that the reason why this Administration is so assailed is not that it has been more corrupt, or as corrupt as its modern predecessors, but that it is doing much to expose thieving and to punish men who steal. The Democratic party—I mean the modern Democratic party—came into power in 1829, under General Jackson.

One man, Samuel Swartwout, in General Jackson's day, when the Government raised only about thirty million dollars a year, stole a million dollars in the New York custom-house—nearly as much money as has been stolen under this Administration in three years, in collecting and paying out nearly twenty-one hundred million dollars. The percentage of loss under the Administration has been less than under any Administration since General Jackson was inaugurated President of the United States. There is not a shadow of doubt of it. I assert here and now, that there has been a less percentage of loss under General Grant's administration than under that of any other Administration since the days of John Quincy Adams. John Tyler, a son of President Tyler, in a letter recently published, states that there were, in Van Buren's administration, ninety-eight receivers of the public money, ninety-six of whom became defaulters. Ninety-six out of ninety-eight! [Laughter.] Is there any man here to-night who knows that any one of those men was ever sent to the penitentiary?

I believe a Republican thief is a worse man than a Democratic thief. [Laughter.] He has not had so many bad examples. [Laughter and applause.] A Republican thief is the wickedest and meanest thief in all the land. He joins a great party that was brought into being to give freedom to the slave, maintain the unity of the country, and preserve the life of the nation. In the ranks of that party is a large mass of the intelligence of the country, of the praying men and women of the country. A man who joins that political organization, betrays his trust, and steals the money of the Government, is a base creature, and the penitentiary is the only place where he should dwell.

The difference between Republicans and Democrats on this question is this: the Republicans try to discover and punish their thieves; the Democrats never punish theirs. You cannot tell me to-night of a man who stole from the national Government under a Democratic administration who was sent to the penitentiary. Under this Administration several thieves have been sent there. Most of their stealing was under the late administration, for there has been little stealing under this. Under Andrew Johnson's administration mean men got office. He went back on his party, on his record, upright Democrats paid little attention to him, honest Republicans kept away from the White House, and mean men of both parties sought the benefits of his patronage. About forty collectors of internal revenue under his administration became defaulters for about a million and three quarters.

Under the three years of General Grant's administration four collectors became defaulters, and for amounts less than two hundred thousand dollars.

During the war we paid through the paymaster's department of the Army more than a thousand million dollars. That money was paid sometimes when troops were on the march, sometimes when they were under fire, and we lost less than a quarter of a million dollars. Never in the history of the human family was there any higher evidence of integrity. In the war of 1812, in paying out the little money we paid during that war, we lost about two million dollars. Since General Spinner entered upon his office as Treasurer of the United States, \$55,000,000,000 have passed through his office, counted by from three to four hundred men and women. We have lost between fifty and sixty thousand dollars in these eleven years, while \$55,000,000,000 have gone through the office. We punished one man, fined him, and he is now trying to get back \$5,000, for he says we made him pay \$5,000 more than he stole. [Laughter.] We have sent to prison three trusted clerks, men of capacity and ability, whom everybody trusted and respected. That is the way we have served our thieves. We have sent two men who stole under Andrew Johnson's Administration, and were prosecuted under this Administration in Baltimore, to the penitentiary.

We had a paymaster in the Army; he was not a Republican; his father was not a Republican but an old Whig, and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under Thomas Corwin. This young man was a college graduate, inherited \$100,000, was a member of a Christian church, had a noble wife and three beautiful children, lived within his income, got a passion for stock gambling, lost his \$100,000, and then took \$400,000 of the money of the Government. He was arrested when he might have run away. He was sent to the penitentiary at Albany for ten years. About the same time the discovery was made of the boldest and most gigantic robbery of the people ever perpetrated in ancient or modern times. Bill Tweed—"Boss Tweed"—a man who, a few years ago, went through bankruptcy, and who is said to have boasted, within a year, that he had \$18,000,000, and, with him, the tribe of Tammany Hall, have been discovered and exposed. Some of these thieves have gone to Europe, some of them are enjoying the pleasures of the healthful breezes and snow-drifts of Canada, some of them are in one part of the country and some in another. While we were trying Major Hodge, and sending him to the penitentiary at Albany for ten years, with the approval of the entire Republican party of the country, Bill Tweed, the greatest thief in all the history of the human family, the boss thief of the world, [loud laughter and applause,] was sent to Albany, not to the penitentiary, but the State-House as a State senator, by twelve thousand Democratic majority. [Applause.]

These two cases illustrate exactly the differ-

ence between the two parties: the one denouncing thieves and arresting and punishing them when it can, the other never punishing them. I am told by leading Democrats, some of them members of the committee of seventy, men who have done all they could to expose and break these Tammany thieves down, that they do not believe one of these thieves will ever go to the penitentiary. They stole the Erie railroad; they stole the State of New York from General Grant in 1868; they have stolen their millions from the city; they have stolen judges and stolen juries, and they get elected to the Legislature; they do not get sent to the State prison. And the men who denied this stealing, who denied that they stole the State of New York when they knew that they did it, who denied the stealing of these Tammany Hall men, until it was finally brought out and established so clearly that nobody could longer deny it, these very men are accusing the Administration of stealing. I have heard before of Satan's rebuking sin, but I never saw anything so brazen as this. [Loud applause.]

There has been collected, under General Grant's administration, in three years, nearly twelve hundred million dollars—nearly four hundred millions a year; there has been paid out nearly a thousand million dollars; making about twenty-one hundred million dollars. We have lost, out of this immense sum, in all the departments of the Government, a million and a quarter—less than a fifteenth part of one per cent!

We have paid out, during these three years, ninety million dollars, in pensions, and we have had five defalcations, all of them soldiers, and four of them shed their blood for the country. But the Government has not lost a dollar, for the agents made good their accounts, or their bondsmen did it for them.

Everybody knows that the Indians have been cheated and wronged for years, and that many of our Indian wars have grown out of our violations of treaty obligations, our bad conduct, and the stealing from the appropriations for the Indians. General Grant, knowing the Indians and their wrongs, two years before he came into the Presidency tried to devise a plan by which the Indians should receive what the Government appropriated for them. When he came into power he invited the Christian denominations of the country to select some good men whom he could send out to see that the Indians were not cheated, and they selected men like George H. Stuart; like Friend Lang, in Maine; like Friend Hoag, of Iowa; like William E. Dodge, of New York; and like Edward S. Tobey, of Massachusetts, some of the noblest, best, and purest men who tread the earth. These noble men have worked these three years to save these poor Indians from being wronged. The Indian policy of General Grant, were there nothing else, is enough to immortalize any Administration that ever existed in the country, from the foundation of the country. [Applause.] It has more of justice in it, more of humanity, more of the spirit of the divine Master, than can be found

in any other deed of the Government, except the emancipation of the slaves. It stands by the side of that grand act among the great achievements of the nation. It will be acknowledged hereafter, it will go into history, and men will applaud it, when many of the men who are assailing the present Administration sleep in forgotten graves.

This Administration came into power with the pledge to maintain the faith and honor of the country, then weakly or wickedly assailed. During these last thirty-five months there has been paid \$287,000,000, saving nearly eighteen million dollars a year in interest. This money has been mostly saved, on the one hand, by an honest collection of the revenues, for we collected the first fifteen months of General Grant's administration \$67,000,000 more than was collected under the same laws in the last fifteen months of Johnson's administration; and on the other hand, by a reduction of the expenses of the Government. From these two sources we have paid this \$287,000,000. Throughout the financial world it is a matter of wonder and amazement that the financial policy of the United States should be so successful. We elected General Grant pledged to maintain the faith of the nation, to make our debt sacred, and what is the result? Why, the \$700,000,000 of currency is worth to-day \$140,000,000 (twenty per cent.) more than it was three years ago. The laboring man who has earned two dollars to-day has received forty cents, in real gold value, more than he would have received three years ago this day. There has been added twenty per cent. to every dollar the laboring men of this country have earned this day these many months; and it has been added because of the signal fidelity and ability with which that pledge has been kept to maintain the faith of the nation, honestly collect the revenues, reduce expenses, and extinguish the national debt as fast as we could.

We have a class of men who are always looking behind them. They have never been satisfied. They have taken their position on the great issues of the last forty years and been wrong every time. They linger behind their age. All their predictions have failed. They are the instruments of defeats and failures. Still these men continue to believe that all the statesmanship of the country is gone. They once looked up at the slave-masters of the South, who were their masters, too, when they stood on the heads of their negroes. They looked pretty tall then. A great convulsion came, and it shook them from their high position, and they look quite as small now as other people. But our Democratic friends do not see it; the old illusion still haunts them. To hear these men talk you would suppose General Grant was vastly inferior to such great, magnificent statesmen as Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan. Who is General Grant—this man so denounced? When the war opened he was earning a few hundred dollars a year tanning leather in Galena. He offered his services to the nation, and they were not accepted. He

went down to Springfield and served there for some weeks, helping to enroll and organize the regiments they were raising in Illinois. Finally, they gave him a regiment. He had not money enough to buy a sword with which to fight the battles of his country, nor a horse to ride. You did not know anything about him; the nation knew nothing about him; few had heard of him. He had served in the Mexican war when a young man, fresh from West Point, and won two brevets for gallant conduct, but nobody knew anything of this humble man. He took his regiment and marched away. He never asked anything of the Government; he never disobeyed an order; he never made any complaint. He went straight forward and did his duty, a quiet, silent, modest man.

About the first thing we heard of him was that he took about twenty-five thousand men up the Tennessee river, moved on the enemy's works, attacked an army of twenty thousand rebels, and captured fifteen thousand of them. You next heard of him coming on the field of Shiloh when it was nearly lost, and when asked if he had prepared for a retreat he said that one boat would take all that would retreat. He defeated the rebel army that had been nearly victorious. Then he went down the Mississippi river, passed Vicksburg, made a movement into the country, attacked the rebel armies, captured Vicksburg; and then you find him at Chattanooga to restore a lost battle. You have heard of the magnificent victory he won on Mission ridge and Lookout mountain.

He was then brought to Washington, and took command of the armies of the country, led the army of the Potomac through the Wilderness, fighting every day in the month of May, 1864. He placed his army before Richmond, and when the hour came, moved upon the doomed city, and received the surrender of the rebel army at Appomattox. Nineteen battles behind him, and all victories! He did not march his army to make a parade through the rebel capital, but started off alone, with his carpet-bag in his hand, for Washington, to stop the raising of troops and the manufacture of munitions, to make preparations to disband the army and save expense, and to save what he regarded, and what we all regarded as a very important thing, a general bankruptcy in the country.

We Republicans turned to this man when Andrew Johnson failed us, and asked him to be President. He did not seek the Presidency; he felt and said that his place at the head of the Army was the post for him. We made him President, and it was his strength and commanding influence that carried the fourteenth amendment. That same potent influence carried the fifteenth amendment, and gave the black men the right to vote in all the States. When a wail of distress came up from the South, when poor black men prayed for protection from the murderous blows of the midnight assassins of the Ku Klux dens, Congress hesitated, faltered, divided. Then it was that he came forth with the brief

message that rallied our scattered ranks like a battle order. Clothed with authority he has striven to protect the weak against the cruelties of the strong. Many hundred members of the Ku Klux Klan have been arrested, several have been convicted, or have confessed their guilt, and thirty of those chivalric assassins are in the penitentiaries. The men who stood by the cause of anti-slavery and the protection of the black man have found in General Grant a man who has stood bravely, steadily, and consistently on the side of freedom and the equal rights of all men.

General Grant has now been President three years. He has committed some errors, made some mistakes in his appointments. But his foreign and domestic policy, the leading measures of his Administration, have been and are in the interests of the country. The masses of the people, who have no personal grievances, who only want good government, see it, feel it, realize it. With all its faults, they believe we have the most reformatory, progressive, and best Administration the country has seen for forty years; and they are right in their convictions. But he is followed by obloquy and reproach. Again he is passing through the "wilderness;" it is darkened, not with the smoke of battle, but the storms of insinuation and accusation, detraction and denunciation. But he will not call retreat. The spirit that uttered, when the flame of battle opposed his march to the rebel capital, the inspiring words, "I will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," is yet unbroken, and exultant foes may yet find that another Appomattox lies before him. [Applause.]

In all the struggles of the last sixteen years New Hampshire has been on the side of the country and of liberty. Forgetting that "victory clings to unity," you Republicans of New Hampshire allowed your banners last year to trail in the dust. You have tasted the wholesome discipline of defeat. Now you have the power to rise again. Forgetting personal interests and petty differences, and standing shoulder to shoulder, you can redeem your State, and thrill the hearts of your friends throughout the land. To you, Republicans of my native State, I appeal, for unity and victory. I ask you, who maintained the right of petition when it was cloven down under the lead of Charles G. Atherton; you who stood by John P. Hale when smitten by Democracy for fidelity to liberty; you who sternly opposed the wicked compromises of 1850; you who resisted the repeal of the Missouri compromise when sustained by Franklin Pierce; you who were true to Kansas when its skies were illumined by the midnight fires of burning cabins, and its virgin soil reddened with blood; you who helped make Abraham Lincoln President; you who followed the old flag of the Republic over many battle-fields; you who sustained by voice and vote that grand series of measures by which slavery was annihilated and the slave power broken forever; you who helped extirpate caste, enfranchise the black man, and give equality to all conditions of



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men; I implore you, one and all, to sustain now that sacred cause for which you have toiled and prayed, voted and fought. Stand by the Republican party; stand by, I pray you, that great political organization until it accomplishes the task assigned it by the needs of the country and the providence of God. Make safe the beneficent deeds of the past, and secure in their full fruition the fruits of the seeds planted in faith and nurtured by devotion and valor.

Listen not to the seductive voices which proclaim that the work of the Republican party of the United States has been achieved. The reforms of the past are not only to be assured, but other reforms of magnitude are pressing for accomplishment. At any rate, it has a great, if not its greatest, work yet to do. That work is to humanize, convict, and convert the Democratic party of the United States. [Applause.] Men cannot be wrong all the time for forty years and be convicted of their folly in an hour. Until that political organization has been convicted of its wickedness, repents of its sins, and brings forth the fruits of repentance, the Government of the United States cannot be safe in its control. Its history and the elements of which it is composed alike forbid that it should be again intrusted with power. The Democratic party has at least one million of voters in its ranks who fought against their country with ballot and bullet; men who are only sorry that they fought against their native land because they failed. You must breathe into their souls the spirit of patriotism and the spirit of liberty, justice, humanity, and Christian civilization.

There are a million and a half of voters we call "copperheads." I will not call them "copperheads;" I will call them what they love so much to be called, "conservatives." [Laughter.] These men always sneered at the cause of liberty, always took the side of the old slave masters, stood up for privilege and caste, and rejoiced, or if they did not rejoice did not manifest sorrow, when our armies were defeated. To convert these men is a great work. I think it will take us a dozen years, at least. If in that time we can change the hearts of the old rebels of the South and these conservatives here in the North, and get them to accept the vital and animating principles of Christian civilization, and go for the elevation and protection of the poor and the lowly, the black men of the South and the poor white men of the whole country—if we can do this grand work in twelve years, the world will say we have achieved quite as much as we did when we put down the rebellion, made four and a half million men free and gave them citizenship and equal rights. The war Democrats, the men who by voice, or vote, or bullet, stood by their country in time of war, will be utterly helpless if the Democratic party comes into power. The old rebel leaders will be the head, the conservatives will be the body,

and these loyal war Democrats will be only the tail of the Administration. [Applause.]

In the past sixteen years we Republicans have taken from the Democratic party more than a million of its best men—taken the cream right off of it. [Applause.] We want the war Democrats, some of these conservative Democrats, and some of the rebel Democrats, too. They are our mistaken, erring countrymen. We want their influences and all they have to give on the side of Republican ideas, principles, and policies; on the side of education and development, and the inspiring influences that elevate and lift up the masses of our countrymen. Never till the masses of the Democratic party accept the vital ideas of patriotism, of equality for all and protection to all, will it be safe to intrust the mighty interests of the nation to that political organization. Its "new departure" is a delusion; its "passive policy" is a snare. Neither the one nor the other will be adopted, because it is right. If either be adopted at all, it will be in the hope to win power, to defeat the full fruition of the great work achieved by the Republican party. The acceptance of the "new departure" and the "passive policy" may be an advance for the torpid conservatism of the Democracy, but the adoption of either by the nation will be a lowering down, a reaction, an ignominious retreat.

Republicans of New Hampshire, of New England, of the Republic, cling then with deathless tenacity to your grand organization, that now embodies three and a half million men in its ranks. Stand by the Republican colors. They symbolize patriotism and liberty, justice and humanity, development and progress. Trust yourselves; correct your own errors; move right onward, abreast of the advancing currents of a progressive republicanism. Look to your history; do not blur nor blot that immortal record. Let it be an inspiration, a perennial source of faith and hope, in sunshine and in storm. In the years to come, when the passions and prejudices of these days of conflict shall have sunk to rest with us in the bright hereafter, the record of the last twelve years will be a brilliant chapter in the history of human progress. The world will note it, and mankind will read it with beaming eye and throbbing heart.

The Republicans of the United States should never forget that they lived that history and made that history. They should ever remember that America, as they have made it, is no longer dominated by a slave power, nor guided by the councils of slave masters. It is moving on a higher plane and working out a nobler destiny for humanity than any of the foremost nations of the globe. The continued triumph of the Republican party assures the triumph of equality before the law, and protection under the law. Let, then, the Republicans of New Hampshire, now as in the past, lead the Republican columns to a glorious victory. [Loud applause.]